

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5447

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL OPORTO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION NATO

DIA WASHDC

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 7643

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJECT: PCP PROGRAMMATIC STATEMENT ON NOV 25 COUP

REF: LISBON A-270

SUMMARY: IN A LENGTHY PROGRAMMATIC DOCUMENT ANALYZING THE  
ABORTIVE NOVEMBER COUP, THE CC/PCP CONCLUDED THAT THE LEFT HAD  
SUFFERED A SERIOUS DEFEAT AND THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S  
OWN "COLLECTIVE WORK" HAD TO BE IMPROVED. WHILE SELF-  
CRITICAL IN NATURE AND DEFENSIVE IN TONE, THE CC DOCUMENT  
CONTINUED PAS ATTACKS ON SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERSHIP, AND  
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WAS RESERVED ABOUT FUTURE PCP COOPERATION WITH AZEVEDO

GOVERNMENT. THE DOCUMENT AND A SUBSEQUENT EDITORIAL IN THE PARTY NEWSPAPER HINTED OBLIQUELY THAT CUNHAL'S LEADERSHIP OF THE PCP WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE PARTY'S NEXT CONGRESS, NOW SCHEDULED FOR THE FIRST HALF OF 1976. END SUMMARY

1. FOLLOWING DEC 13 MEETING IN ALHANDRA, 35 MILES NORTHEAST OF LISBON, CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCP) RELEASED LENGTHY, PROGRAMMATIC STATEMENT ANALYZING NOV 25 COUP ATTEMPT. HIGHLIGHTS FOLLOW:

2. NOV 25 COUP: EVENTS OF NOV 25 REPRESENTED CULMINATION OF STRUGGLE BETWEEN COMPETING FACTIONS WITHIN ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT (AFM) FOR CONTROL OF MILITARY APPARATUS. THIS STRUGGLE WAS RELECTION OF LARGER CONFLICT BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC AND REACTIONARY FORCES IN PORTUGAL. PCP HAD CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED PEACEFUL, POLITICAL SOLUTION TO INTERNAL AFM STRUGGLE. ONLY PCP'S RESTRAINT ON NOV 25 PREVENTED WORKING CLASS FROM BEING DRAWN INTO ADVENTURE WHICH WOULD HAVE RESULTED IN BLOODY AND FINAL DEFEAT OF REVOLUTION. COUP WAS SERIOUS DEFEAT FOR LEFT.

3. IMPLICATIONS FOR PCP: DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN GENERAL, AND PCP IN PARTICULAR, MUST ALTER STRATEGY TO "DEFEND, CONSOLIDATE, AND PROCEED WITH REVOLUTION." SOCIALLY, ALLIANCE OF PROLETARIAT -- OF WHICH PCP IS VANGUARD -- WITH PEASANTRY, SMALL AND MEDIUM BOURGEOISIE, AND INTELLECTUALS REMAINS VALID. ALLIANCE OF THESE GROUPS WITH AFM CONTINUES TO BE "FUNDAMENTAL," BUT ADEQUATE DEFENSE OF REVOLUTION WILL REQUIRE THAT ALLIANCE BE EXPANDED WITHIN ARMED FORCES BEYOND AFM ALONE. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT OFFICERS WHO OPPOSED MILITARY LEFT BEFORE COUP ARE WAKING UP TO DANGER POSED BY RESURGENT RIGHT. POLITICALLY, UNITY OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER. GIVEN THE "RIGHTIST POSITIONS" OF SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERSHIP, NON-PARTISAN FORMS OF ORGANIZATION AND ACTION WILL BE INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT IN FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM. PCP STILL CONSIDERS POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY REACTIONARY, BUT RECENT SCHISM SHOWS EVEN IT CONTAINS ELEMENTS OPPOSED TO FASCISM.

4. ECONOMY: MAJOR ECONOMIC PROBLEM CURRENTLY FACING PORTUGAL  
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IS "TO OVERCOME ECONOMIC DEPRESSION AND RECESSION WITH VIEW TOWARD FUTURE DEVELOPMENT." REVITALIZATION OF ECONOMY MUST NOT, HOWEVER, BE ALLOWED TO JEOPARDIZE ECONOMIC REFORMS OF REVOLUTION: NATIONALIZATIONS AND AGRARIAN REFORM MUST NOT BE REVERSED OR DILUTED. TO STABILIZE PRODUCTION AND INVESTMENT, LIMITS OF PRIVATE SECTOR MUST BE "DEFINED, RESPECTED, AND GUARANTEED." IN CURRENT PHASE OF REVOLUTION, "IT WILL BE OF INTEREST TO OBTAIN AND GUARANTEE FOREIGN CREDITS AND EVEN

INVESTMENT" SO LONG AS NO STRINGS ARE ATTACHED.

5. AFM AND THE PACT: PCP STILL CONSIDERS AFM "INDISPENSABLE" TO REVOLUTION. ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT SAME MOVEMENT WHICH EXISTED BEFORE COUP, SO LONG AS IT RETAINS DEMOCRATIC ORIENTATION IT WILL PREVENT RIGHTIST MILITARY FROM GAINING CONTROL OF ARMED FORCES. PCP IS WILLING TO DISCUSS REVISION OF AFM-PARTIES CONSTITUTIONAL PACT, BUT WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT ANY CHANGES WILL "CONSOLIDATE AND GUARANTEE" RATHER THAN IN ANY WAY "COMPROMISE" DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

6. AZEVEDO GOVERNMENT: DECISIONS TAKEN SINCE COUP INDICATE AZEVEDO GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE RIGHTIST POLICIES WHICH PRODUCED STRONG POPULAR PROTESTS BEFORE COUP. PCP RESERVES RIGHT TO CRITICIZE GOVERNMENT WHENEVER ITS ACTIONS CONTRADICT PROGRAM; PCP WILL NEVER SUPPORT MEASURES IT CONSIDERS "ANTI-WORKER" OR WHICH JEOPARDIZE ACHIEVEMENTS OF REVOLUTION. PCP'S FUTURE PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT WILL DEPEND ON GOVERNMENT'S COMPOSITION AND ON IMPORTANCE OF OFFICES ASSIGNED TO PCP.

7. ELECTIONS: THOUGH NOT THE ONLY MEANS OF EXPRESSING POPULAR WILL, ELECTIONS HAVE IMPORTANT ROLE IN REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. BEFORE ELECTIONS FOR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CAN OCCUR, HOWEVER, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO ENSURE EXERCISE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN SOME PARTS OF PORTUGAL CURRENTLY UNDER "LOCAL REACTIONARY CONTROL."

8. ORGANIZED LABOR AND POPULAR POWER: WITH DEFEAT OF MILITARY LEFT, WORKERS' AND POPULAR POWER MOVEMENTS REMAIN PRIMARY BULWARK AGAINST RETURN OF FASCISM. RIVALRY AND "SECTARIANISM" WHICH IN PAST HAS CHARACTERIZED RELATIONS BETWEEN UNIONS AND WORKERS COMMITTEES MUST BE OVERCOME. VIEW THAT POPULAR POWER ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS AND POPULAR ASSEMBLIES, ARE RIVALS OR SUCCESSORS TO

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STATE IS "IDEALISTIC."

9. ULTIMATE GOALS UNCHANGED: NOV 25 COUP HAS NOT ALTERED COMMUNIST VIEW OF PRIMARY GOAL OF REVOLUTION: CREATION OF DEMOCRATIC REGIME CAPABLE OF (A) ENSURING FREE EXERCISE OF "WIDEST POSSIBLE" LIBERTIES AND (B) CARRYING OUT ECONOMIC REFORMS WHICH WILL LEAD TO SOCIALISM.

10. PARTY TASKS: THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE "EMPHASIZED THE NECESSITY OF IMPROVING ITS OWN COLLECTIVE WORK"; LEADERSHIP MUST "DEEPEN" ITS ANALYSES OF POLITICAL SITUATION; LEVELS OF EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING OF PERMANENT CADRE MUST BE RAISED; GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZATION EXPANDED; IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING PROGRAM INTENSIFIED; AND PARTY FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OVERCOME. CENTRAL COMMITTEE AGREED "IN PRINCIPLE" THAT 8TH PCP CONGRESS

SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN FIRST HALF OF 1976.

11. COMMENT: LENGTHY, PROGRAMMATIC NATURE OF CC DOCUMENT INDICATES THAT PCP WENT THROUGH INTENSIVE SELF-CRITICISM IN WAKE OF ABORTIVE COUP. FACT THAT PARTY KNOWS IT IS AT LEAST TEMPORARILY ON THE DEFENSIVE EMERGES, INTER ALIA, FROM COMMENTS ON ECONOMY -- I.E., SUPPORTING FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

12. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PCP'S PERSISTENT AGGRESSIVENESS UNDER CUNHAL'S LEADERSHIP EMERGES EQUALLY CLEARLY IN THE CC'S CONTINUED ATTACKS ON THE SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERSHIP AND ITS CALL FOR "NON-PARTISAN" PCP/PS ORGANIZATION. THIS OLD, UNITED-FRONT-FROM-BELOW TACTIC IS NOT LIKELY TO FIND MANY TAKERS INSIDE THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

13. IN ITS DECEMBER 18 EDITORIAL ON THE STATEMENT, THE PARTY PAPER "AVANTE" CHOSE TO REFER TO THE CC DOCUMENT AS ONLY A "PARTIAL ANALYSIS," HINTING THAT THE PCP MAY YET DRAW OTHER CONCLUSIONS FROM ITS DEFEAT IN NOVEMBER. WILL REPLACING CUNHAL BE AMONG THESE OTHER CONCLUSIONS? THE EDITORIAL OFFERED NO DIRECT COMMENT. HOWEVER, THE CC DOCUMENT'S CALL FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO IMPROVE "ITS OWN COLLECTIVE WORK" PLUS THE CONVOCAION OF A PARTY CONGRESS NEXT YEAR SUGGESTS THAT CUNHAL'S STEWARDSHIP OVER THE PCP WILL BE ON THE AGENDA.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** GOVERNMENT OVERTHROW, SPEECHES, POLITICAL PARTIES  
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**Draft Date:** 24 DEC 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** KelleyW0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
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**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Reference:** 76 LISBON A-270  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** KelleyW0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 29 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <29 MAY 2003 by WorrelSW>; APPROVED <20 OCT 2003 by KelleyW0>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PCP PROGRAMMATIC STATEMENT ON NOV 25 COUP  
**TAGS:** PINT, PO, PCP  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006